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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-00
	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/035W	
-----734BFD					280625Z /38		

P 280619Z OCT 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2096  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04422

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS:PREL, GOV, RW  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA IMPASSE

REF: KIGALI 4322

1. C ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTIES ARE AT AN IMPASSE  
OVER HOW TO STRUCTURE A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE  
TRANSITION PERIOD. AND THEY SEEM UNWILLING TO MEET  
TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE COMPROMISES. IT WILL TAKE AT  
LEAST 6 MONTHS TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR FAIR  
ELECTIONS; OPPOSITION PARTIES BELIEVE MORE TIME WILL  
BE NEEDED AND REFUSE TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP TOWARD AN  
ELECTORAL LAW. ISSUE BEHIND ALL THIS IS HOW TO SHARE  
PORTFOLIOS IN A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, AND CAN IT BE  
DONE BY INCLUDING THE RPF WITHOUT INCLUDING THE CDR.  
CABINET SESSION TODAY ENDED IN DEADLOCK. END SUMMARY.

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## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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3. THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY INSISTS ON ELECTIONS FOR A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE TRANSITION. THE CONCERTATION PARTIES (MDR, PL, PSD) AGREE WITH THE RPF THAT THE INTERIM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE APPOINTED. THE MRND WILL ACCEPT THE RPF APPOINTING ITS DELEGATES TO THE ASSEMBLY, BUT HAS NOW ADDED A NEW WRINKLE: IF THE RPF IS ADDED TO THE ASSEMBLY, SO MUST OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES. WHAT THIS MEANS IS THE MRND INSISTS ON ADDING THE CDR (HUTU SUPREMACY PARTY) INTO THE ASSEMBLY IF AND WHEN THE RPF IS ADMITTED.

4. WHY ARE THE CONCERTATION PARTIES SO COMMITTED AGAINST ELECTIONS? THE PARTIES HAVE LONG SAID THAT THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE TO HOLD A FAIR ELECTION WITH THE CURRENT TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATORS, ESPECIALLY THE BOURGMESTRES STILL IN PLACE. THE

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REFUSAL OF THE MRND TO EXCEPT THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION IN EARLY SEPTEMBER CONFIRMS THE PARTIES IN THEIR FEAR THAT ANY FORM OF ELECTIONS WOULD BE RIGGED. THEIR FEAR IS SO STRONG THAT THEY REFUSE TO HAVE THE DRAFT ELECTORAL LAW DEBATED IN THE GOVERNMENT, FOR FEAR THAT THIS WILL SET UP A MOMENTUM LEADING TO ELECTIONS WHICH WILL BE RIGGED.

5. THE CONCERTATION PARTIES' POSITION HAS HARDENED RECENTLY, WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE OF ADDITIONAL POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. MDR PRESIDENT FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD ME TODAY THAT HIS PARTY CANNOT HOLD A MEETING IN GISENYI, RUHengeri, OR BYUMBA PREFECTURES. AND THEY ARE BEING RUN OUT OF KIBUNGO. MRND ACTIVISTS COMPLAIN THAT THE REVERSE IS TRUE IN GITARAMA AND BUTARE. NEVERTHELESS, FOR THE MOMENT THE MRND CONTROLS MORE MUSCLE THAN THE OTHERS, AND PARTIES PERCEPTION OF THAT MUSCLE LEADS THEM TO REJECT ELECTIONS FOR THE TIME BEING.

MEETINGS AND NON-MEETINGS

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6. AFTER DECLINING THE FOUR PARTIES' INVITATION,  
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA INVITED ALL SIXTEEN PARTIES TO  
A MEETING OCTOBER 22. ELEVEN SHOWED UP. THE PARTIES  
OF CONCERTATION BOYCOTTED THE MEETING. WE  
SUBSEQUENTLY URGED THE PRESIDENCY TO INITIATE A  
FOLLOW UP MEETING WITH THE FIVE PARTIES, AND WERE  
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TOLD BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE CABINET RUHIGIRA THAT  
SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE HELD ON OCTOBER 24. IT WAS  
NOT HELD. IN FACT, IT APPEARS THERE WAS NO  
INTERPARTY CONTACT THROUGHOUT THE THREE DAY WEEKEND  
OCTOBER 24 THROUGH 26.

7. REPRESENTING THE MRND, THE MINISTER OF PLAN,  
AUGUSTIN NGIRABATWARE CAME TO SEE ME SUNDAY TO URGE  
ME TO GET THE OTHER PARTIES TO EXCEPT ELECTIONS. IN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04422

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RETURN I URGED HIM TO SIT DOWN WITH HIS MINISTERIAL  
COLLEAGUES AND TRY TO WORK OUT A FORMULA FOR  
COMPROMISE.

POSSIBLE COMPROMISE  
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8. PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE INVITED ME AND THE  
BELGIUM AMBASSADOR SEPARATELY OCTOBER 23 TO TALK  
ABOUT THE IMPASSE. THE PRIME MINISTER IS PREPARED TO  
EXCEPT A COMMITMENT TO ELECTIONS WITHIN SIX MONTHS,  
AND TO ALTER THE CND BY ADDING RPF AND OTHER PARTY  
MEMBERS TO THE EXISTING ASSEMBLY. BY HIS COUNT THE  
ASSEMBLY ALREADY INCLUDES FIFTEEN MEMBERS OF THE MDR  
PLUS ONE PL, ONE PSD, ONE PD, AND THREE OR FOUR  
OTHERS WHO HAVE FORMALLY LEFT THE MRND.

9. BY MY CALCULATIONS IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CREATE  
A BALANCED ASSEMBLY ON THE BASIS OF THE CURRENT CND  
WITH AN ENLARGED GROUP OF FROM ONE HUNDRED TO ONE  
HUNDRED AND TWENTY MEMBERS.

10. BUT THIS COMPROMISE IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO  
THE PRESIDENTS OF THE MDR AND THE PL. ACTUALLY PL  
LEADER MUGENZI SEEMED INTERESTED UNTIL AFTER HE HAD  
TALKED WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU WHO TOTALLY REJECTS A  
COMPROMISE BASED ON THE CURRENT CND.

11. THE PRIME MINISTER BLAMES THE RPF AND THE  
CONCERTATION PARTIES FOR THE IMPASSE. HE SAID IF THE  
RPF WOULD EXCEPT ELECTIONS AS THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME,  
THE POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD HAVE TO CAPITULATE. ON

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THE OTHER HAND, IF THE PARTIES HERE WOULD EXCEPT THE COMPROMISE OF AN EARLY ELECTION WITH AN ENLARGED CND WITH APPOINTEES IN THE INTERIM, THE RPF WOULD GO ALONG. THE PRIME MINISTER ALSO BELIEVES THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA IS MORE REASONABLE THAN HIS PARTY'S POSITIONS. HIS PITCH TO AMBASSADOR SWINNEN

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AND ME SEEMED TO BE TO GET US TO CONVINCE HIS PARTY LEADERSHIP. SO I TRIED, BUT CAN'T EVEN GET THE PARTIES TO AGREE TO THE FIRST STEP, BRINGING THE ELECTORAL LAW BEFORE THE CABINET FOR AN HONEST FIVE PARTY DEBATE.

A WAY OUT?

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12. TWAGIRAMUNGU BELIEVES THAT THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE IS FOR THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION IN ARUSHA TO INITIAL WHAT THEY HAVE AGREED ON TO DATE AND COME HOME, LEAVING OPEN THE COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE A MEETING OF THE CONCERTATION PARTIES, THE MRD, AND THE RPF TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. MUGENZI COMPLETELY AGREES. BUT AS OF OCTOBER 27, THE MRND HAS NOT AGREED TO MEET EVEN WITH THE FIVE INTERNAL PARTIES, WITHOUT HAVING THE OTHER ELEVEN (READ CDR) ACCOMPANY.

13. THE CABINET IS AGAIN MEETING TODAY TO TRY TO FIND AN ANSWER, BUT THE VIEWS WHICH I HAVE JUST HEARD FROM MINISTERS OF SEVERAL PARTIES INDICATE VERY LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THEY WILL REACH A CONSENSUS TODAY.

COMMENT

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14. I HAD A LONG DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE WITH THE FRENCH, BELGIAN, AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS OVER LUNCH AT THE RESIDENCE OCTOBER 23. WE ALL AGREED THAT THE

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PARTIES NEED TO FIND A MECHANISM FOR A REAL DIALOGUE

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AMONG THEMSELVES. WE ALSO AGREED THAT WE HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN PROMOTING THIS DIALOGUE BUT THAT WE CAN NOT FORCE THE PARTIES TO TALK, NOR CAN WE IMPOSE A COMPROMISE ON THEM AT THIS STAGE.

15. MDR PRESIDENT TWAGIRAMUNGU THINKS THAT SOME FURTHER DISCUSSIONS CAN TAKE PLACE DURING THE NOVEMBER NEGOTIATIONS ON INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES, PROVIDED, OF COURSE, THAT AN ALL PARTY

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MEETING WITH THE RPF TAKES PLACE IN THE MEANTIME.

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16. UNLIKE HIS PRIME MINISTER AND MANY IN THE GOVERNMENT, TWAGIRAMUNGU IS UNWILLING TO HAVE FOREIGNERS RESOLVE THE PROBLEM FOR RWANDA. HE USED BOTH ANGOLA AND CAMEROON AS EXAMPLES OF WHAT HAPPENS WHEN ENTRENCHED POWERS (SANTOS AND BIYA) USE THEIR  
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CONTROL OF THE ADMINISTRATION APPARATUS TO  
MANIPULATE THE RESULTS AND FOOL THE FOREIGN OBSERVERS.

17. UNFORTUNATELY, THE BATTLE OVER THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND THE POSTURING ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THAT BATTLE, IS REALLY ONLY A PRELIMINARY TO THE REAL DISCUSSIONS WHICH WILL INVOLVE DIVIDING UP THE CABINET PORTFOLIOS. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS FLOATING AROUND, BUT NOTHING THAT RESEMBLES A CONSENSUS ON THE FORMATION OF A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT.

18. A POSSIBLE HABYARIMANA-KANYARWENGWE MEETING IS STILL IN THE WINGS. THE BELGIUM EMBASSY IS UNAWARE OF ANY ADDITIONAL DETAILS AND IS KEEPING HANDS OFF AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

19. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED THE CABINET FAILED TO REACH A SOLUTION THIS AFTERNOON. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ASKED TO SEE ME URGENTLY. I WILL PASS ON HIS THOUGHTS BY PHONE TO AF/C TONIGHT.  
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